

# PEACE NEWS

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2d.

## RECONQUEST OF EUROPE

IT is hard for a Briton to take to his heart, or get into his head, the disquieting truth that democracy is in extremis. It has been swept off the continent of Europe, it is vanishing in this country, not because of the malignancy of evil men, but because of its own unworthiness. It could not meet the historical demand upon it. The great challenge came, and it failed to respond. That happened, not in 1938 or 1939, but 20 years ago.

The substance of the story is simple. Britain had the chance, by the politics of generosity, to win Germany over to democracy. The politics of generosity would have changed the nature of British democracy. It would have changed it spiritually, by raising the political peculiarity of a nation to a moral ideal of universal validity. It would have changed it politically and economically, by making Britain a member-State of a new and genuine European community.

The opportunity was rejected. The guilt of the subsequent anarchy of Europe, the responsibility for the grim necessity by which the unification of Europe is being accomplished by ruthless military conquest, lies primarily upon ourselves. Unless we remember that, our national policies are bound to be self-righteous, short-sighted, and disastrous. Yet how can the nation as a whole remember it, when it has never been admitted to full consciousness; when its statesmen have never acknowledged it; when they make the evil of the agency of retribution the excuse for denying the offence that is being punished?

From this condition of mind there can come no salvation. The policies born of this inward evasion are doomed to frustration. They are rooted in falsehood, and grow in an atmosphere of illusion. They have no correspondence with reality. They assume that Europe is with us—at least potentially. But Europe is not with us. We betrayed Europe, and Europe has no faith in us any more. Even if Europe becomes restive under German hegemony, it will not turn to Britain. France will never look to us for liberation. Her liberation will come—as it assuredly will come—from her own dignity of soul discovered in the depth of her humiliation.

There is a degree of suffering and humiliation which the nations of Europe must pass through in order to inherit the future. Russia has passed through it, Germany has passed through it, France is passing through it. On the further side of this valley of the shadow the nations speak a common language which we do not share. We can share it only when we have undergone a like suffering and humiliation. We have the choice: either to experience that humiliation in actual misery, or to anticipate it by a spiritual humiliation. "Blessed are the poor in spirit." That means nothing to our statesmen, nothing yet to the nation. Nevertheless, in that humility is our one hope of salvation; our one chance of speaking a language which Europe can understand. We are required to acknowledge, in some terms or other, that upon us is being visited the just judgment of God.

That also has no meaning. How could it, when our explicit religion has so long ceased to correspond to the deepest human experiences? But if any man wishes to know what the judgment of God really means—to understand how it is knit into the very texture of history—let him consider the behaviour of Britain since 1914 and its consequences. We know of no more blinding revelation of the truth that history is capable only of a religious interpretation.

What makes the truth more bitter is that the Christian Church dare not point to it. Perhaps it dares not see it. Because it might open men's minds, and souls, to the intolerable thought

(Continued on back page)

## If The Dictators Hold Europe

**WE** are told that it is inconceivable that our beloved Britain should have to bow her head before the conqueror; and indeed the march of events does seem to be rendering that improbable.

But it is certainly conceivable, perhaps quite probable, that the reconquest of Europe by the only methods available—air bombardment, blockade, and the fostering of desperate revolts—may prove impossible, more especially if, as is quite likely, the German and Russian systems coalesce, or work in harness together, and a form of totalitarian communism becomes stabilized over the continent. In such an event, our national spokesmen inform us, Christianity and civilization would perish from Europe, if not eventually from the world, and there would be nothing but a condition of abject, static, hopeless slavery, to which even death or the total ruin produced by an indefinite continuation of war would be preferable.

I propose, in the light of world history, to examine this statement. Let us face the worst.

It has quite often happened that conquered and oppressed racial communities, possessing a culture and religion higher in most respects than that of their conquerors, have held their own spiritually, have gradually changed or permeated them, and have risen to a degree of equality and freedom.

Evidence as to just how this process has come about is usually very scanty, for in most ages of conquest and change what historical records still exist deal mainly with kings and queens, with soldiers and ecclesiastics. But here and there indications have survived, centering, for example, round the too friendly relationship of some captive slave and his foreign owner.

Thus, in the history of the Jews, we have the cases of Joseph and Moses, slaves who had honour and influence in their Egyptian "house of bondage"; the touching, and indeed symbolic, story of the little Hebrew slave girl whose intervention resulted in the healing of the Syrian general Naaman; and various statements in the stories of Ezra, Nehemiah, and Daniel, which indicate that Jewish captives in the courts of the Mesopotamian monarchs were held in considerable honour.

The attitude on the part of the conquered which made their influence for good on the conqueror possible appears to be summed up in the message of the prophet Jeremiah, sent from Jerusalem to his countrymen captive in distant Babylon, when, after encouraging them to enjoy a quiet family life on their farms and gardens, he enjoined them to "seek the peace of the city whither the Lord has caused you to be carried away captive and pray for it; for in its peace ye shall have peace."

### EMPIRE BASED ON SLAVERY

The Roman Empire was built up by military aggression as bad as any we have today, and its whole culture and economy was based on the enslavement and impoverishment of a great portion of the conquered nations.

### KEEP US FIGHTING FIT!

THIS week a drop in the fighting fund: £34 17s. 11d., bringing the total to £715 7s. 9d.

Our expectations are keyed so high that we are tempted to say "don't let it happen again!" That would be ungrateful and preposterous. The steady generosity of our readers is an inspiration.

By  
**STEPHEN HOBHOUSE**

The slightest signs of a movement of independence were punished by thousands of crucifixions and the destruction of entire cities, with the selling into slavery of their populations.

Italy, whence the Empire was ruled in the time of Christ, had a slave population vastly outnumbering the free inhabitants—slaves who often worked in chains and could be crucified at will by a cruel owner. There were large numbers of so-called freemen also whose status was becoming more and more servile; indeed we can trace a direct connection between these unfree inhabitants of the Empire and the serfs of mediaeval Europe on to the so-called wage slaves of today. A great portion of the slaves were Greeks of a relatively higher culture and also, especially after the destruction of Jerusalem, Jews—in both cases prisoners of war or their offspring.

Incidentally, there were a number of dangerously widespread slave revolts, especially that organized by the famous gladiator Spartacus, where the balance of justice was certainly on the side of the slaves; yet it is difficult to believe that the world would have been better if these deeply outraged men had succeeded.

### DEBT TO ENSLAVED MEN

Most of the Greeks and Jews accepted their situations and tried to make the best of them in the spirit of Jeremiah's words.

To them we owe the finest elements in our civilization today, for they, or many of them, set to work to educate, to convert in some sense, their rough conquerors and owners. The Jews spread across the Empire and made many proselytes; the Christian Church began as a Jewish sect and thrived under intermittent persecution and tolerance, being largely recruited from the enslaved and servile classes. Their influence spread upward, so that in some 300 years they were so numerous and powerful that the Emperor Constantine thought fit to take them into partnership into the State (with disastrous results indeed to the Church).

The Greek slaves and "freedmen" taught to their masters their own literature, philosophy, and art, with incalculable results for good that still endure. Among many other instances, Epictetus, one of the noblest of the philosophers, was a Greek slave at Rome.

When the Empire itself and its Greco-Roman culture fell into its long-

drawn-out agony under the hammer of the barbarian invasions, it was largely the spiritual descendants of these slave-schoolmasters who prevented an absolute break with the traditions of the past.

It is true of all three periods of the greatest chaos; that is, roughly speaking, AD 406 to 493, the era of the Goth, Vandal, and Hun invaders; 567 to 732, when the Arabs and Lombards made their conquests; and finally 840 to 880, when once more the Arabs or Saracens and the almost invincible and still pagan Northmen, the paragons of our Nazi enemies, ravaged Europe from end to end.

The chief visible saviours of society during these epochs, more potent usually than the military overlords, were men of the conquered races, that is, some of the Bishops and Popes, a few non-ecclesiastical administrators, the wandering missionaries, and the members of the numerous monasteries which were then still associations of laymen. In some cases conquered princesses, compelled to marry victorious chieftains, converted their husbands.

Among the Goths, and probably elsewhere, the beginnings of Christianity were due to Roman slaves; and there is the famous case of St. Patrick, the escaped slave who returned to convert his master and the Ireland of his captivity.

(To be continued)

## A PACIFIST COMMENTARY

### Greece Between The Devil and The Deep Sea

EDITED BY "OBSERVER"

GREECE has rejected the Italian ultimatum; and now there is war between Italy and Greece. I am sorry for Greece, caught fairly between the devil and the deep sea. Had she yielded to the Italian demand for strategic points, the British would have seized Athens and Piraeus.

I like the Greeks; and I know that the "dictatorship" of Metaxas was a quite decent affair—a clean-up, mainly in the interests of the peasant, of the intrigue and incompetence of democratic politics, so-called. The British connotation of the phrase has little relation to Greek reality.

### FRANCO-GERMAN TALKS

OUT of the obscurity surrounding the conversations between Hitler and Laval and Petain, one thing emerges pretty clearly; that the tendentious reports that France was to be pressed to declare war on Britain immediately were false. A definite indication was given to France of what the German terms of peace to France would be, if a general peace could be concluded, and a definite indication sought of what would be France's attitude if Britain refused to make peace. The German official announcement that followed the Hitler-Petain conversations was notable.

Humiliation will play no part in the new Europe. There will be no division between victors and vanquished. There will only be readiness to co-operate in the work of reconstruction.

It is, of course, part of our national dogma that Germany is incapable of such behaviour; but to be capable of such words is something. Words are not without power; and the broadcasting of such words throughout Germany as a declaration of Hitler's attitude toward France counts for a good deal. Hitler knows, better than our statesmen, what are the consequences of the deliberate humiliation of a

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## COMMENTARY

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proud nation. He himself is one of them.

Therefore, I take it that the main theme and principal outcome of these crucial conversations is the outlining of terms of a settlement in which France can sincerely co-operate.

## The "Men of Vichy"

THE idea that the "men of Vichy" are not representative, and cannot speak for France, will not stand examination. I do not know of a single case of a Frenchman, eminent in culture, be it science, or literature, or art—in short, any representative of the French genius—who has "emigrated" and declared himself opposed to the Vichy Government.

I do not mean that it is a popular Government—no emergency government of a defeated nation can be that—but that the average Frenchman sees no alternative. Collaboration with Germany, he knows, is essential. Another period of Franco-German hostility would drain the life-blood out of France. Therefore, the members of a responsible French Government must be men who are really prepared to co-operate with Germany.

That is a political fact. If the British Government chooses to ignore it, and to build castles in the air on the hypothesis of a French nation straining at the leash to emancipate itself from German domination, and to welcome home a government of emigres, every month that passes will lead us farther into the quagmire of illusion.

## Opportunity of Peace

NATURALLY, the French desire peace; naturally, therefore, they desire a general peace, for their national peace must depend upon this. To the average Frenchman, Britain is simply the country that stands in the way of general peace. He knows that a military re-conquest of Europe by Britain is quite impossible. The French defeat itself removed that from the realm of reality. But even if it were conceivable, France would gain nothing but more devastation and suffering.

In the Frenchman's eyes, Britain is merely condemning him to forgo peace in the name of a hypothetical "liberation," which will never happen, and which he would reject if it did. For he does not want to be "liberated" a l'Anglaise; he does not want to be condemned to the murderous futility which such "liberation" entails—another period of Franco-German hostility. It was chiefly because the average Frenchman had come to the conclusion that the game was not worth the candle that France "collapsed."

The die of history is cast irrevocably. In the long run, what the French accept for Europe we must accept also. If, therefore, there is a fund of common sense, or of true political responsibility in our present governors, they will take the coming opportunity of peace very seriously indeed.

## Alternative to Invasion

WE appear to have successfully overcome the threat of German invasion. How imminent it was I have no means of knowing; but continental opinion expected a victorious invasion of Britain (though I doubt whether many Englishmen did).

But it is partly due to his setback in what is called "the battle of Britain" that Hitler is losing no time in consolidating the new order in Europe; for it will serve as the basis of a much more formidable propaganda against us. The Times (October 28) has a message from Lisbon which contrasts oddly with the strained bellicosity of its leading articles.

If success (in reaching a settlement with France) is achieved, then the next step would be a peace-offensive, backed by the formidable block of Axis States, to appeal to British and American reason. If the peace move failed, then the Axis would at any rate be in a better strategic position for a campaign in the Mediterranean.

To British and American reason! Mr. Willkie has already declared that the USA intends to trade with a totalitarian Europe.

## Possibility of Peace Now

ANYHOW, I find myself in pretty complete agreement with the following passage from a statement adopted by the Quarterly Meeting of Friends in Lancashire and Cheshire:

We believe in the possibility of peace now,

## BRITAIN in the POST-WAR WORLD

WILFRED WELLOCK

concludes his article begun last week

IT may be that, as a result of present world-tendencies, Britain will be driven into the American trade and economic orbit. She is being so driven today.

At the same time events across the Atlantic provide ample ground for apprehension. The Monroe doctrine, "America for the Americans," is being applied with a vigour hitherto unknown. Rapidly, almost feverishly, the USA is gathering into its hands all the military, financial, and economic controls of the entire American continent—the 21 Latin Republics, Canada, and even the outposts of European imperialism, including our own.

No more Western Powers are to secure a foothold on American soil. British and Canadian defence forces and works in the New World are to go into the American pool.

In regard to financial and economic issues, the following items are of interest: By the supply of armaments the USA is purchasing most, if not all, British investments in the American continent, and increasing amounts of Britain's gold; is closely co-operating with the 21 South American Republics to secure the maximum exchange of all their surplus commodities; is giving financial assistance in order to ease the position of primary producers in the Latin Republics whose exports have been cut down by the present war; is assisting these States to develop secondary production in accordance with a conference decision of the latter to acquire a more balanced economy.

A direct result of these developments will be the operation of the American continent as an economic unit to a far greater degree than ever in the past. Other countries, our own in particular, will suffer in consequence, much as the have-not Powers suffered from Britain's adoption of the "Ottawa" policy in 1932.

## GREATEST REVOLUTION

So far as one can see, therefore, by this war the world will be compelled to undergo the greatest political and economic revolution known to history.

It will emerge from the war divided into four economic units, each of which will be largely self-supporting. Thus, in view of the bankrupt and broken-down condition of most States after the war, the general tendency will be to economize and retrench, to try to sell and buy little. Therefore, the big units will close their doors, and only the minimum of inter-unit trade will take place until a new order of things has been evolved.

Great Britain will thus be driven increasingly within her Empire, when

without surrender, without defeat or dishonour, the necessary condition being that the vain pursuit of victory should be relinquished. The present moment is opportune, when neither side in the conflict is in a position to dictate terms.

We believe it possible and right to seek now to re-establish contacts with the Axis Powers. The United States and other Powers friendly to this country have combined to maintain relations with the German and Italian Governments which involve a measure of mutual trust. The outcome of the American Presidential election might well provide the opportunity for that country to make yet another effort to bring peace to the stricken world.

## Roosevelt and Willkie

THE British press is less certain than it was that President Roosevelt will be re-elected. John L. Lewis's denunciation of Roosevelt as one determined to carry the country into war has definitely improved Willkie's chances. And I notice that it is now being guardedly admitted that Willkie's is, after all, a policy of isolationism.

I have no admiration for the combination of isolationism plus big business; yet, since I believe that the effect of America's entry into the war would be merely to prolong suffering and increase devastation, I am not sure that I want Roosevelt to win, although I know he is the better man and that he has—more than any other democratic leader—some understanding of the needs of the new age.

an even more intensive policy of self-sufficiency than that of Ottawa will be forced upon her. Britain's position will be further aggravated by the fact that her chief Dominions are as determined as the South American Republics to develop secondary production and thus secure a more balanced economy.

Up to now machine-production has been far more profitable than food-production, but the food-producing countries are revolting against continuing as the bond-servants of the big industrial Powers. The present war has given them the opportunity, which they are taking, to remove a long-felt grievance. The Dominion workshops that are now making aeroplanes, etc., will make motor cars, motor lorries, tractors, etc., when the war is over.

## EFFECT ON BRITAIN

Now it requires no mathematician to draw from the above account the conclusion that Great Britain, as the world's greatest trading nation will be more hardly hit than any other big Power by the enormous economic and political changes that are now taking place.

The loss of markets will be so great as to compel her to change the balance of her economy, to increase her food-production at the expense of her industrial production. We are thus destined to witness a reversal of the industrial revolution of the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries.

We ought to be preparing for and indeed undertaking that revolution now. Already one Minister of the Crown has warned us of the possibility of a post-war army of unemployed of over seven millions.

That prospect brings us to another issue, that of social crisis. A careful survey of all the facts points to the conclusion that more devastating political, economic and financial crises will follow in the wake of this war than we have ever known.

They are not likely to occur immediately the war is over, as there will be a great deal of war damage to repair and a considerable leeway to make up in unsatisfied demand for goods unprocurable during the war. But come they will in due course.

## THE FINANCIAL POSITION

That conclusion is emphasized by a consideration of the world financial situation.

All the spare wealth of Germany has already been consumed, while the wealth of Europe is rapidly being converted into armaments. Our wealth also is fast going up in smoke.

The world's credit has been destroyed: there will be no international lending when hostilities cease. Trade will be by barter. From Flushing to Vladivostok private capitalism will have no currency.

Even in Britain the stock and share markets will be in chaos, for this war marks the end of what H. G. Wells has termed the Golden Age of Investments. Fortunes will vanish and privileged classes fall from their pedestals of power, as happened in Germany from 1918 to 1924, and again since 1933—as the result not of a Left revolution but of the collapse of their own anti-social system.

Some weeks ago, in a chance conversation, a person unknown to me ventured the following comment, which

I think is worth repeating: "I have a feeling that this war is going to destroy a large amount of what I would call artificial wealth; and I am not at all sure it won't be a good thing. Our life had become so artificial that something had to be done about it. Now something is being done, and few of us, I fear, will escape its ravages. Let us hope we profit by the experience."

## END OF A SOCIAL SYSTEM

Throughout the 19th century the outstanding purpose of those who directed our affairs was to pull down their barns and build greater.

That process reached its climax in 1930. It could not proceed farther because the full barns had impoverished seven-eighths of the world's population. More ominously, it had demoralized society from top to bottom, both those who possessed the full barns and those who had been dragooned into filling them.

So the guns that roar daily on the seven seas, and the planes that drone nightly over lost and restless Europe, are veritably blowing sky high a social system that is spent. The Europe and the Britain of 1939 will never return. The old order is burning itself out. And we are moving into conditions wherein the costs of war will not, as in the past, be the burden solely of the poor; they are part of that artificial wealth that is going up in smoke.

Were the British nation suddenly to become sane and sensible, decide to abandon class privilege and imperialist domination and boldly set about to nationalize economic security and thus achieve social stability, the loss of wealth by the war would not matter very much.

But, barring a miracle, we know that to a colossal war debt will be added the perils of shrinking trade due to the impoverishment of the masses through the demands of a privileged class for profits and dividends, and also to the fact that every State in the post-war world will be licking its wounds and endeavouring to protect and consolidate its assets.

## A WORSE "EMERGENCY"

We have been told that when the war is over and the state of emergency is passed all our liberties will be restored. But the state of emergency will not pass; it will grow worse and worse.

The economic impasse that will arise will cause unrest to abound and panic to seize the possessing classes. Faced with extreme distress, the millions of ex-Service men and women will demand a fair deal, a better fate than unemployment and the dole as their reward. At the same time, the investing classes, confronted with high taxation and collapsing securities, will seek safety in financial retrenchment, both personal and public, hoping thereby to save the utmost from the general wreckage.

In that situation, nothing short of a miracle can save Britain from dictatorship, either of the Right or of the Left. And there is no sign of that miracle happening.

Hence, by and by our age will discover that this war was a great betrayal of human values, and that so far from destroying Fascism it carried civilization to the very portals of an era of totalitarianism.

A NOURISHING FOOD CADBURY'S BOURNVILLE PLAIN CHOCOLATE



## P.P.U. FORETHOUGHT COMMITTEE

Meeting the View that Nazism is Worse than War  
The Food Blockade :: Non-Violence  
Associate Membership

**T**HE Forethought Committee met at Cambridge on October 16 and 17. It discussed the most effective way of countering the position of those who admitted the evil of war, yet maintained that Nazism was a worse evil.

It was agreed that the real answer involved (1) a distinction between the good and evil features in Nazi totalitarianism; (2) a clear recognition of tyrannical developments in our own society; (3) making clear what is meant when we say a totalitarian order is inevitable; (4) showing the grounds for our confidence that the pacifist mode of resistance is the only effective one.

It was finally agreed to ask John Middleton Murry to write four articles for *Peace News* and subsequent publication as a pamphlet under the following heads: "How Nazism arose in Germany"; "In what form Nazism appears here"; "The pacifist method of dealing with Nazism"; and "Why the pacifist believes in the success of his method."

**O**N the matter of the food-blockade of Europe, the Committee recommended that the Executive should make plans to follow up the new leaflet and pamphlet with a demonstration if Mr. Hoover revived his campaign, probably after the Presidential election.

On the question of India, while we should be careful not to give the impression that we were looking for any stick to beat the Government, we should make it clear that we did wish to associate ourselves with Gandhi's demands. This did not involve our making the same demand for ourselves, because Britain's decision to enter the war was made democratically, whereas India had had the decision imposed upon her.

Our demand should therefore be that the just Indian claim to speak freely should be granted.

**T**HERE was (the Committee felt) much misunderstanding in the common notion that non-violence was an obvious solution of our present difficulties.

It was fallacious to suppose that there could be a course of training in non-violent methods or that a definite technique could be elaborated. That was to misconceive the nature and inspiration of non-violence.

Where pacifist conviction was deep enough, every situation would call forth its own technique.

**T**HE question of associate membership was discussed in view of (1) the position of the near-pacifist; (2) the value of contacts with those outside the pacifist movement; (3) the fact

that the line of demarcation was not a rigid one.

It was agreed (1) to encourage groups to enlarge their contacts in their own districts by inviting sympathetic people to meetings, discussions, and common action; (2) to recommend that a conference should be called as soon as possible at which members of the Forethought Committee should meet a number of specially invited non-pacifists. The aim of the conference should be to discuss what constructive action was possible in the present situation.

The effort should be to avoid controversy on differences, but to concentrate instead on discovering the most hopeful line of common action in the present chaos.

A PRACTICAL  
POLICY FOR  
PACIFISTS

To the Editor of "Peace News"

**T**HE problem of buying up land for the new communities could be tackled on a large scale if pacifists loaned their savings to a central fund for this purpose, and I should imagine at least £1,000,000 would be available in a short while if an appeal were well organized. Home ties and other responsibilities prevent many from giving, but few would refuse to loan their savings, however small the sum.

Suppose pacifists,

- (a) could revolutionize agriculture (USSR shows how large-scale collective farming can succeed);
- (b) strengthen the already strong pacifist element in the co-operative societies;
- (c) work within non-pacifist organizations and influence these by their clear thinking and strength of conviction as George Lansbury and Dick Sheppard did;

then would I be too optimistic in envisaging that, small though our numbers may be, we could have a great influence in the near future?

Or, as I feel certain, are there not thousands like me in the movement who look for a real pacifist crusade along these lines? For undoubtedly we need the philosophical and religious bases for our new way of life, but we must have a practical and simple policy for our immediate aims if our movement is not to degenerate into a mere organization of ascetics and Pharisees. Hard words, maybe, but with no hard feelings; only the hope that we can carry our creed into practical channels to guide a war-weary humanity to a truly Christian way of living.

WALTER H. HAWKINS.

9, Hanman Rd., Gloucester.

## P.P.U. GROUP NOTES

JOHN BARCLAY Says  
"Speak Now,  
or ..."

**A** GERMAN bomber passing over our house the other night dropped its load of incendiary bombs in scattered confusion. One fell on the roof and tumbled in golden rain outside our front door. We put it out by the time-honoured method of covering it with sand and soil. I cannot believe that Goering has any desire to burn my house, nor do I blame the German airman who actually "pulled the trigger." Such indiscriminate bombing is caused by the improved defence, which drives the planes to such a height that accurate aiming on military targets is impossible. This must be true of all air forces faced by equally good defences.

The above statement is surely not propaganda, nor is it defeatist, but its effect on non-pacifists is to make them question the whole business of bombing. Travelling north over the weekend I talked along these lines to fellow-travellers and found that they agreed with all I said. The conversation following this opening became a friendly one, and all came to the conclusion that bombing would only intensify the hate on both sides and lead nowhere.

## Contacts in the Open

If we could get all our members to discuss openly the ethics of bombing as well as the futility of its method, we might be on the way to building up a sane public opinion which would have the courage to demand its cessation. As a matter of fact, groups are becoming much more inclined to seek contacts in the open and if only a beginning could be made, the human voice would once more be heard asking questions instead of accepting ready-made statements. The bomber will always get through until the barrage of human resistance has taken the place of metal. This resistance, to be effective, must be co-operative and non-violent.

Let your voice be heard.

(Will groups please send any news of their activities to John Barclay at 6, Endsleigh Street, W.C.1.—Ed.)

## BRUDERHOF COMMUNITY

Within the next few weeks most of the members of the Society of Brothers in the Cotswold and Oaksey Bruderhof Communities will be leaving to settle in Paraguay.

Mennonites from Russia who settled in the Chaco district ten to fifteen years ago have offered them the possibility of settlement there. The Paraguayan Government is giving them full freedom of conscience and administration as well as other facilities.

A group of about fifty people, however, will remain in this country to carry on the Bruderhof witness as long as possible.

## CHRIST AND PEACE

A DEVOTIONAL MEETING

Chairman:

The Rev. HENRY CARTER, C.B.E.

Speakers:

The Rev. Dr. DONALD O. SOPER,  
DR. ALEX. WOOD

At Kingsway Hall, Kingsway, W.C.2  
(Nearest Tube Station: Holborn)

NOVEMBER 9th, at 2.30 p.m.

The Meeting will close at 4 p.m.  
Admission, free by Ticket, from the Council  
of Christian Pacifist Groups, 16, Victoria  
Street, London, S.W.1. (Whitehall 4089).

How Provinces  
Help London

**E**NSURING a comfortable reception for bombed-out Londoners has become one of the leading activities of some of the groups in the provinces.

Kettering, for example, has gone ahead with its plans for a rest centre "for tired and bombed-out Londoners." Miss Leman has bought a house at 151, Stamford Road, Kettering, and after decoration it is to be occupied next week by two members from London as host and hostess—with no salary but just food, lodging, and pocket-money. It will then be possible to accommodate four people at a time, in two bedrooms. The group is making an appeal for beds and bedding, and later on may be able to take more than four people.

It has, however, been necessary to give the local authority an undertaking that the house will be accommodating seven people altogether continuously to avoid its being requisitioned for evacuees.

## Every Train Met

Following a conference at Banbury, addressed by John Barclay, the Fellowship of Reconciliation started meeting every train from London, night and day, and the PPU group soon joined in. A large "tin" mission hall near the station was begged and fitted up with beds, tables, chaff mattresses, blankets, and so on. Three or four families have lived there already, some just until moving into billets, others for longer periods.

Two days after the pacifists had made a start, the local authority took over a large mission hall, so the pacifists, still meeting trains, took the evacuees there, and then found billets, provided bedding by various means, and generally helped to solve the problems that arose—including the food problem, in part, with vegetables from an allotment the PPU has run for two years.

## "P.N." Editor's Lectures

The October Bulletin of the Norwich Group reports that "there was a good sprinkling of Peace Pledgers at the two well-attended classes of a one-day school arranged by the Educational Department of the Norwich Co-operative Society," at the end of September, when John Middleton Murry lectured on "The world today" and "The world tomorrow."

In order that they might be able to give "constructive and comparatively permanent help" to conscientious objectors, the group has started a small land settlement scheme where there are now three or four men working.

John Middleton Murry's book, *The Betrayal of Christ by the Churches*, was published on Wednesday by Messrs. Dakers at 5s.

## CONCERT IN AID OF LANGHAM

**Clifford Curzon**  
Piano, and

**Stephen Waters**  
Clarinet

to be introduced by MAX PLOWMAN  
at Caxton Hall, Caxton Street, Westminster  
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## WHICH WAY TO PEACE?

What are the facts behind the present situation?  
What are the possible future developments?  
What is the Pacifist answer to it all?

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Will readers please bring this to the notice of all who might be interested



## Reconquest of Europe

(Continued from page 1)

that we deserve to lose this war. The prophets of Jerusalem could warn their people and their kings that they had deserved to lose their wars, because they had disobeyed the will of God. These remote happenings are the theme of edifying sermons, because they are so remote that we can imagine ourselves on the side of the prophets. We are not. We can imagine it only because the notion that this country has ever disobeyed the divine command can find no entry into the mind of the Christian ecclesiastic. How could there have been a divine command of which he knew nothing? It is a contradiction in terms.

The prophetic function of the Christian religion was forgotten long ago. It had to be forgotten. You cannot fuse Church and State and retain a prophetic mission for the Church. Tacitly, if not explicitly, that fusion involves the assumption that the nation can do no wrong. The Church makes the sign of the cross over the misdoings of the body politic. It is no wonder that the Christian religion is discredited. A Christianity that cannot face the possibility of national humiliation and the possibility that national humiliation is the justice of God is really a blasphemy.

A hard justice, it may be: that a failure in generosity, that the breaking of a pledge, should involve our discomfiture at the hands of a Power which has been no more generous than ourselves and never scrupled to break a pledge. But from those to whom much is given, much is required. And much had been given to Britain. In return we were called to be the pioneers into the new world of European community. It was our mission to be the expositors of a new practical and political Christianity, the creators of a new Christendom. For that end, the finest spirits of a generation laid down their lives. Their ghosts haunt some of us still.

Nevertheless, if we could be humble, we need not fear for the future. We should then know that what is evil in Nazism will not endure. We should then know that we have it in our power to collaborate in and expedite this process of purgation. We can anticipate the grinding of the mills of God, and build ourselves and our country anew on foundations that will not fail. We have—if we have the humility to discover it—that in ourselves on which the evil element in Nazism can lay no hold; nay, more, that which will convert the evil into good.

The politics of generosity we rejected. There remains the politics of repentance; and at this juncture it consists in taking the responsibility of peace. It is no accident that the only policy we have for the military conquest of Europe is one which no honourable or Christian man could use—the hope of starving our former friends. Those who can read the signs of the times, will realize that it will not be given to us to reconquer Europe by this means. The weapon is a lie. The only reconquest of Europe that lies within our power is not in the military realm at all. It is in the realm of the spirit. And we can achieve it only by our fidelity to our own highest truth. That truth of ours not only has no expression in modern war; but in the very dregs of it—which is all our portion, however much we deny it—it is prostituted hour by hour.

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## NEWS OF C.O.s

# To Give Evidence at Inquiry Attitude of Tribunals Next Age-Group

**T**HE position regarding the inquiry into the maltreatment of conscientious objectors who have been conscribed into a non-combatant corps in Liverpool is now much more satisfactory. At least 13 of those who were transferred to South Wales after the incidents reported in Peace News are being taken specially to Liverpool to give evidence on oath.

Already, too, the attention drawn to their case appears to have had its effect on the treatment of COs in this particular camp. For three or four, who had been denied the opportunity which a court martial would give them to state their case, with the possibility of subsequent release, have now been allowed a court martial.

In reply to Mr. McGovern's question in the House of Commons on October 22, Sir Edward Grigg, Under-Secretary for War, gave the name of Major F. G. Pritchard, K.C., as a member of the court of inquiry that had been set up. He also gave the numbers of COs serving sentences of three months or more and of those in solitary confinement as 32 and 3 respectively.

### The "Political" Objector Again

Though the Appellate Tribunal still avoids committing itself or other tribunals by calling its decisions test decisions (taking each case, instead, on its own merits), at least one local tribunal is still seeking guidance from it on the matter of so-called political objections.

This is the South Wales Tribunal, which, sitting at Cardiff on October 24, refused the application of Samuel Trevor Williams, of Abergwynfi, to be registered as a CO, the chairman (Judge Frank Davies) advising him, however, to appeal.

A member of the Independent Labour Party, and formerly a clerk employed by the New Statesman, Williams admitted that he could not say he would not support any war, as it depended upon circumstances. The chairman

### Painstaking Arguments against Pacifism

The Case Against Pacifism. By John Lewis, D.Sc.Ph.D. (Allen and Unwin. 2s. 6d.)

**T**HIS is a painstaking and conscientious piece of work. Before, however, it can take its place as the anti-pacifist's Bible, it will need a good deal of editing, correcting, and cutting.

The book contains, along with its main subject, the author's case for falling into line with the Russian Communists and their friends in China, Spain, and elsewhere. He maintains (and here most pacifists agree) that wars cannot be abolished unless capitalism, depending on foreign markets for surplus production, is ended; he condemns at length the "appeasement" policy of Mr. Chamberlain; and concludes with a long and quite uncritical defence of Soviet Russia, excusing her aggressions of Poland and Finland and ending with the remarkable statement that "the Russian move leaves nothing to be fought for by Britain except imperialism's interests."

On the main issue Dr. Lewis, using his experience as a one-time pacifist, deals successively with what he terms the absolutist, mystical, Christian, Gandhi, and utilitarian (Joad and Russell) types of pacifism, and he scores some effective points especially against the last variety of what to him is a reactionary faith.

### Instinct of Enlightenment?

All these painstaking accumulations of argument by men who are apparently anxious to be fair to their opponents make one feel that our cause rests fundamentally not on any processes of reasoning, but on a divine intuition, an instinct of enlightenment, by which we war-resisters, in spite of all our weaknesses and inconsistencies, are kept free of illusion in this particular sphere.

What is one to make, for example, of a man of high culture and genuine good will who quotes, as Lewis does, the words of Christ, "I come not to bring peace but a sword" (N.B. "division" in the parallel Gospel passage), and the line of William Blake, "nor shall my sword sleep in my hand," as thereby giving prophetic authority to the prosecution of modern war by means of the unceasing toll of millions of men and women to equip with every conceivable device for scientific destruction thousands upon thousands of bombing aeroplanes and other incredible monstrosities in which the modern disciples of Christ appear to put their primary trust? S.H.

### To Be Discharged From Army

**T**HREE of the COs who were among those in the Liverpool camp which is now the subject of a War Office inquiry have been recommended by the Appellate Tribunal for discharge from the army.

This means that they will be released immediately, as the conscription Act provides that such a recommendation shall be acted upon when the sentence of imprisonment which gives a CO the right to appeal to the Tribunal has been served.

The men (who had already served sentences of three months' imprisonment, for disobeying military orders, before they were sent to Liverpool) are Kenneth Bundy, Arthur Cook, and Bernard Gibbs.

described him as "one of the most honest objectors I have had before me."

### "Unconditional" Ruled Out?

A remarkable illustration of the attitude of the Midlands Tribunal was reported in The Friend last week.

After stating that S. G. Clayfield, of Stourbridge, had been registered as a CO conditionally upon continuing his work of driving a milk lorry, the report adds that Wilfred Wellock, testifying to the applicant's sincerity, "urged that this was a suitable case for unconditional exemption."

"Judge Finnemore, in reply, said he thought conditional registration better in every case, as ensuring that a man was doing work of social value."

### New Registration

The tribunals, which have been making headway against the (in some cases) heavy arrears of cases, will soon have a further batch to deal with, as the men who reached the age of 34 during 1939, and those who will have become 20 since the last registration, are to register this month.

As there are expected to be about 300,000 of them, their registration will be spread over two days. Those whose birthdays were in the last six months of the year, and those who became 20 on any day from July 28 to November 9 (this year) inclusive, are to register next Saturday, and the remainder of those whose 34th birthday fell last year on the following Saturday (November 16).

Readers are reminded that the address of the Central Board for Conscientious Objectors (from which information, advice, and the addresses of local advisory bureaux can be obtained) is 6, Endsleigh St., London, W.C.1., and its telephone number Euston 5501.

### Council and COs

Another local authority which may reconsider its decision to dismiss all COs from its employment (including those in the civil defence services) is the Wood Green Borough Council.

The Wood Green Observer announced last Friday that it was probable that a motion to that effect would be put before the next meeting of the council by one of the Labour members. It also published a long report of a deputation received by the council at its meeting last week, when it was urged that the victimization of the minority of pacifists was an example of the kind of persecution that this country was fighting against.

The deputation was told that their case would be "considered by the appropriate committee."

### Civil Disobedience in India

Mr. Gandhi's campaign of individual civil disobedience was inaugurated by a young disciple, Mr. Bhave, who gave notice to the police that he intended to make a pacifist speech. He gave it, and was arrested on October 21 and sentenced to three months' imprisonment.

Mr. Gandhi's newspaper, Harijan, subsequently received notice from the District Magistrate that "no account of the incidents leading up to Satyagraha by Mr. Bhave and no report of his speeches or any subsequent developments should be published without previous reference to the Chief Press Adviser at Delhi." Mr. Gandhi has therefore suspended the publication of Harijan in both the English and vernacular versions.

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SALESMAN with car, or cycle, for Uxbridge and District, Enfield and District, Harpenden (Herts), Welwyn Garden City and District; evening work essential; permanent; paid holidays; pension; previous sales experience essential. Write or phone for appointment, Cyril Corden, Cline Rd., N.11. ENTERPRISE 1520.

### SITUATIONS AND WORK WANTED

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PACIFIST, 28, married, awaiting appeal, seeks clerical post; 13 years' experience; references; preferably Southern England; accept land work. Box 575, Peace News, 3, Blackstock Rd., N.4.

UNIVERSITY STUDENT, war resister, 21, would like work near future, for duration; horticulture, fruit-farming, etc.; central Essex, Essex preferred, or Home Counties; near town if possible. Box 577, Peace News, 3, Blackstock Rd., N.4.

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